ICE AND SNOW IN THE COLD WAR

CHAPTER 9

Cold War Creatures

Soviet Science and the Problem of the Abominable Snowman

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The search for the yeti, or Abominable Snowman, is one of the most famous of fringe obsessions. Although lore and speculation about the existence of "wild men" dates back centuries, it was only in the postwar period that yetis joined UFOs in the mass-cultural roster of shadowy beings imagined to be lurking just outside the limits of the known.[1] Unlike its extraterrestrial colleagues, the yeti aroused interest almost exclusively because of its legendary elusiveness; the subject was fascinating because the decisive evidence was always almost, but not quite, within reach. From Asia to Europe and North America, the Abominable Snowman became entrenched in popular cultures around the world. Its function as an extraordinary boundary object, to evoke the concept of Star and Griesemer, explains the perennial interest in the yeti across time and place.[2] As the "missing link," the yeti raised questions of human descent that were universal. But the transnational culture that emerged around the yeti phenomenon relied on local legends to give it context and form. As Canadian Sasquatch, US-American Bigfoot, Nepalese yeti, Chinese *yeren,* or Mongolian *alma,* the creature was at the same time geographically constrained and localized.[3] In Communist China, paleontology, popular science, and state ideology worked together in nurturing a scientific culture around the *yeren,* the Chinese version of the yeti. Officially sponsored research into the Chinese wildmen stood in contrast to the pseudoscientific image Bigfoot and its relatives received in America and Europe.[4] In the United States and other Western countries, Bigfoot and yeti searches turned into a playground for amateurs, with their own genre of literature—usually a mixture of adventure accounts, personal life stories, pseudoscientific theorizing, and a Bigfoot historiography with different levels of belief.

Between the official endorsement of the *yeren* and the fate of Bigfoot and Sasquatch, a middle ground was to be found in the Soviet Union. There, the "snowman" (*snezhnyi chelovek*) came to occupy a border zone between science and pseudoscience, with respected scientists weighing in on the creature's sup-

port. Whereas in the West the yeti, like other paranormal phenomena, had always been a primarily fringe topic outside of official science, Soviet scientists raised vexing questions about the nature and legitimacy of popular engagement with science as they searched for a proof of its existence. The yeti serves as an example of how in the Soviet Union knowledge was produced that oscillated between high-brow science, popular science, and fringe subculture. In the Soviet case, public interest motivated scientists to lift the snowman out of the realms of folklore into a contested zone where opponents and proponents fought border wars to separate "science" from "pseudo-science," "knowledge" from "superstition," and "evidence" from "guesses."[5]

Just as the snowman question offered a broad Soviet public the opportunity to engage with scientific institutions, it also gave those institutions an opportunity to investigate the mountainous, inaccessible spaces of Soviet Central Asia from a new perspective. Discovering traces of the yeti required the expertise not only of life-sciences experts but also of ethnographers and anthropologists who would be able to make sense of the snowman from a Marxist perspective. If the hypothetical being was as human as it was nonhuman, its possible existence in Central Asia put into question the whole notion that its spaces were *terra nullius*—no-man's-land—as other cold regions were seen by Cold War actors.[6] No Academy of Sciences expedition was ever launched to investigate the presence of forest spirits (*leshie*) near Soviet villages or water spirits (*vodianye*) in Soviet rivers, but the yeti received official sanction. If, as the editors of this volume have put it, cold regions are "special environments that make political, cultural, scientific, and environmental processes visible in a condensed and place-bound way," the snowman's frosty peaks formed a crossroads between state-sponsored scientific culture, transnational Cold War (pseudo)science, and a new vision of Soviet Central Asia.[7]

Searching for the Soviet Snowman

Discussion of the yeti was first provoked in interwar Britain by casual reports from mountaineers in the Himalayas. In 1954, sponsored by the *Daily Mail,* a British expedition under the leadership of the well-established mountaineer John Hunt returned empty-handed from the Himalayas but received worldwide coverage. Books published by the zoologist Charles Stonor and the journalist Ralph Izzard, both members of the expedition, were soon available in Russian.[8] The ascent of Mount Everest in 1953 had already turned the Himalayas into an object of worldwide general interest; the yeti added even more excitement. From early on, the political contingencies of the postwar period shaped discussions about the hairy creature: the boundary object yeti served also as a border object. In the chilly climate of the Cold War, the rush to the

Abode of Snow evoked reminiscences of the Great Game between Imperial Russia and the British Empire. By the peak of the yeti fad in the late 1950s, mounting press coverage and public interest led numerous enthusiasts from around the world to invest in expeditions to mountainous central Eurasia to locate the yeti and study its way of life. Regional players characterized initial Western explorations into the peaks of the Himalayas in search of the yeti as an unsubtle fig leaf for the geopolitical ambitions of the capitalist bloc. *Pravda*'s special correspondent Oleg Orestov, writing from Delhi in August 1954, discerned that the "Himalayan fever," which brought Americans, Japanese, Dutch, Austrians, and even Argentines into the mountains, triggered "legitimate irritation" in the region. Presumably "covered by the US intelligence service and some other dependent countries," some of the explorers were probably not motivated by scientific curiosity and alpinist endeavors and definitely not by the search for a "snowman," a creature no one had ever seen before. Espionage against China, Orestov concluded in accord with the Indian press, was likely to be the real objective of the expedition.[9]

While Orestov scented a US invention, the curiosity of the Soviet public was spurred by British expedition reports. Numerous inquiries about the snowman arrived at the editorial offices of Soviet newspapers and popular magazines. The readers wanted to know what to think about the snowman, what the opinion of Soviet scientists was about the issue, and—most importantly—whether a similar creature could possibly exist on the territory of the Soviet Union. It came as no surprise that the country soon had its first snowman sighting, reported by a hydrologist from the University of Leningrad, Aleksandr Pronin.[10] During an expedition in the Pamir mountain range in Tajikistan in August 1957, Pronin claimed he twice encountered a strange creature. The Soviet press, which several months earlier had ridiculed the "sensational clamor" of the American media, was suddenly keen to report on the yeti question. Pronin's story immediately triggered reactions from members of the scientific community in both the Soviet and foreign press.[11]

It was due to this surge of public interest, Pronin's testimony, and the personal engagement of two Soviet academics, geologist Sergei Obruchev and the well-established historian Boris Porshnev, that the presidium of the Academy of Sciences decided to assemble the Special Commission for the Study of the Problem of the Snowman to investigate the topic further. Also invited was Kirill Staniukovich, a botanist from Tajikistan whose main interest was the plant life of high mountain ranges, but also the geography of Central Asia. In 1956, Stanuikovich had had a conversation with the president of the All-Union Geographical Society, Stanislav Kalesnik, about the legends told by Kyrgyz about *Golub-iavan,* the Pamir version of the wild man. Despite his ironical tone, Kalesnik became interested in the subject and suggested to write

an article for the journal of the Geographical Society.[12] Staniukovich followed his request and reported on three legends he recorded in the Pamir. In the same issue, an article by Sergei Obruchev was published.[13] Staniukovich was appointed to chair the commission; Porshnev and a third academician, biologist Sergei Kleinenberg, were selected as deputy chairpersons. The commission, supported by the presidium, took rapid action and decided to launch an expedition with the aim of proving or refuting the existence of a snowman on Soviet territory. The question remained: where to look for the creature in the vast realms of the Soviet Union? After the commission compiled all available information in a four-hundred-page report, it concluded that the most likely habitat of the yeti was not the Himalayas but the region between the Tian Shan, Pamir, and Mongolia. Assuming that the snowman could have migrated westward from its main realm in the Himalayas into the Pamir range, the commission decided to survey two of the most remote and little researched areas in the Pamir, the Sarezki basin and the river valley of Muk-Su in Tajikistan. However slight the chance was that the creature really existed, the "snowman problem" promised new professional opportunities, a source of funding for research in remote areas, and a welcome diversion.

The assumed migration of the yeti into the Pamir also called for cooperation with the USSR's communist neighbor, China. Despite the accusations of espionage they raised against Western yeti hunters, Chinese scientists themselves had a profound interest in the *yeren*. The commission therefore exchanged information with the Chinese authorities in the form of reports. Since Sino-Soviet relationships were not yet too constrained, the Soviet scientists proposed to initiate a joint expedition with the Chinese Academy of Sciences to survey the Sino-Soviet borderlands. The exchanges on the snowman even received the attention of the foreign press which reported on the collaboration of the "red experts."[14] Although a joint Everest expedition had to be postponed due to the revolt in Tibet, finding the yeti was an official goal of the first Chinese Everest expedition which took place without Soviet participation in 1960.[15] The collaborative efforts of the Soviets also included Mongolia, where, according to Mongolian and Soviet claims, bipedal apelike *almas* roamed through the desert.

When the academy was set to launch the expedition, springtime was around the corner. The remote areas of the Pamir were accessible for only a few months, limiting the expedition's range drastically. Spring was also the season for the "annual hunt" in the Himalayas, as the sarcastic voice of the *Times of India* put it, when "intrepid explorers, leather-lunged mountaineers and unemployed anthropologists who have spent the winter yawning near their fireplaces suddenly wake up and announce that once again they are off to the Himalayas to chase something which they are not quite sure is there."[16] When the plans

of the Soviets became known, the commentator in Bombay saw an "international race" going on in the search for the snowman.[17] Yet the yeti enthusiasts themselves never framed their search in terms of a rivalry between nations or states. Indeed, they often stressed collaboration more than competition: in the game of exploration, "to be first is part of the excitement," as the journalist James Morris remarked in 1958.[18] Morris, who accompanied the British Everest expedition in 1953, concluded his elegy for the age of exploration with the statement that "the modern adventurer must be a scientist" and that "future journeys of terrestrial exploration will be made by teams of clever and earnest men, backed by governments rather than private societies."[19] In the case of the Soviet expedition, this was entirely correct. Putting a team of that size together was not an easy undertaking, and some Soviet scientists refused to join the search, convinced that the snowman did not exist.[20] Nonetheless, the group setting out eastward resembled an "avalanche of experts" that included forty zoologists, archeologists, mountaineers, botanists, and other scientists and received acknowledgment from the foreign press for its scope and preparation.[21] Perhaps recalling Morris's famous coded telegram that informed Queen Elizabeth II of the conquest of Everest, the snowman received the code name "Ivanov"; in case the creature was encountered, telegrams to Moscow would spark no uproar in the press.[22]

The *Times of India* correspondent remarked on the Russian expedition joining the "usual American and Japanese contingents" that "the cold war [had] made the great nations of the world so icy that they are numb to the chilling spectacle of running after an inoffensive will-o'-the-wisp," adding that "Soviet intrusion into what previously had been considered a purely bourgeois pursuit only goes to show that as regards chasing chimeras is concerned, there is little difference between the cold war protagonists."[23] Yet, as ridiculous as the author regarded the chase for the yeti, he saw "something symbolic" in this "sudden oneness of mind" and linked the yeti fever to the space fever. As another article, probably by the same author, stated: "The irony of it is that the only thing that has ever united English, American and Russian teams in a single-minded pursuit is the desire to chase a will-o'-the-wisp and a chimera."[24] In the United States, the snowman had been indeed inducted into mainstream culture. The American Natural History Book Club advertised the snowman as part of the knowledge that "must—from now on—be the property of every informed American man and woman."[25] In *Popular Science* and *Scientific American,* the Abominable Snowman received his treatment, too.[26] *Popular Science,* founded in 1872 and once a platform for Darwin, Huxley, Pasteur, and other eminent scientists, had changed its focus to technology, automotive, and mechanics already before World War I. Yet, between do-it-yourself advice and car reviews (the magazine was clearly geared to a male audience), the Himalayas found a prominent place.

Snowman Science in the Public Eye

In the Soviet Union, the yeti phenomenon coincided with a particularly large-scale push to promote popular engagement with science, one that was closely linked to the Cold War. Already in pre-revolutionary Russia, popular science publications like *Priroda* had played a significant part in popularizing science.[27] Since the 1920s, popular science magazines had a well-established readership, mostly urban, with an enormous interest in topics such as space travel, global exploration, and astronomy. As Asif Siddiqi has shown, audiences captured by the thrill of space travel formed networks of aerospace enthusiasts that forged connections with counterparts abroad—particularly in Germany—and staged regular tests of rocket designs. By the 1930s and 1940s, participants in these networks were recruited into state-led initiatives, often military in nature, and eventually ended up among the key figures of the Soviet space program.[28] Soviet popular science, in short, was closely linked to official scientific and other state institutions; members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, for instance, published regularly in popular science journals.[29] These links were strengthened in the late 1950s, as the post-Stalin leadership sought for ways to increase the pace of scientific progress and reduce the "distance between mental and physical labor"—key aspects of the Soviet attempt to outperform the United States technologically, economically, and diplomatically. The spread of science and technology came to play a key role in the 1958–62 development of the new Communist Party Program, while more and more young people were funneled into scientific careers.[30] The popular-scientific journalism that made the yeti search a "fashionable topic" was a crucial part of this process.[31]

In 1959, the leading technical magazine for youth, *Tekhnika—molodezhi,* asked readers to send in anything they heard about this matter: "All your observations will be of use for science. . . . The secret will be exposed earlier if the broad masses of our naturalists, regional specialists, experienced people, and young romantics will take part in its solution."[32] A decade later, *Znanie—sila,* another major popular-science publication, reprinted a series of American reports together with a comment by Porshnev. The Soviet professor condemned the "illusion" that what snowman studies needed was a "sensational piece of luck," a decisive piece of evidence. "No, the march of science is both statelier and more modest. Knowledge becomes accumulated and deepened, old evidence is joined to new, its reliability grows."[33] Hence the yeti question became an opportunity to inculcate old-fashioned scientific virtues, in contrast to the sensationalist chase for a perennially doubtful photograph or film clip. *Nauka i religiia,* an atheist journal published by the Soviet Union's leading popular science society, used the yeti question to debate the value of folk beliefs in scientific investigation. On one side, a correspondent dismissed the

yeti rumors as Caucasian superstition; on the other, Marie-Jeanne Koffmann, the French-born doctor of the Academy of Sciences expedition, defended the legitimacy of local observers and mustered evidence in support of the snowman's scientific plausibility.[34]

Unsurprisingly, the academy expedition returned home in 1958 with neither a living specimen of a snowman nor any other evidence of its existence; as far as the academy and the special commission were concerned, the question of the yeti had been conclusively resolved. The result of this, however, was not a resolution but a renewed debate. At first, the academy—and especially Porshnev and Obruchev, the leading promoters of yeti research—struggled to impose a regime of scientific authority on the subject, marginalizing amateurs interested in the topic. For the academicians, the search for the yeti was part of the mission of science, to venture out and fill in the blank spots of human knowledge.[35] The academy's co-optation and subsequent rejection now raised serious questions about the continuing status of yeti research as a legitimate object of scientific inquiry. But not everyone agreed that proper procedure had in fact been followed. Koffmann, for one, argued from her own experience that the expedition had been misdirected and mismanaged by Staniukovich.[36]

Making and Unmaking the Scientific Snowman

Despite the ongoing discussion, once the Academy of Sciences had decided that the snowman did not exist, the official academic journals were closed to new yeti research. Relocating to the Darwin Museum in Moscow in 1960, a small group of "yeti activists," including Porshnev and Koffmann, established the Relict Hominoid Research Seminar, which "the authorities considered . . . a harmless diversion"and continued their research at the outskirts of the Soviet science community.[37] Pëtr Smolin, the chief curator of the museum, had proposed the term "relict hominoid" to denote what Porshnev thought was a relic of ancient, yet nonhuman primates. In 1963, the academy agreed to publish 180 copies of Porshnev's monograph *The Present State of the Question of Relict Hominoids,* in which he synthesized collected documentation and his theories. Boris Porshnev's objective went beyond finding a proof of the existence of an ape-human creature. Instead, he aimed to find a place for the yeti in a broad theory of human development, using the problem of the snowman as a way to pinpoint the line between human beings and proto-human "troglodytes." The cornerstone, for Porshnev, was Friedrich Engels's idea that production relations—in other words, conscious social labor—were responsible for the emergence and differentiation of humans as a species. Following Engels, Porshnev distinguished conscious social labor from instinctive labor, which included not only elementary animal behavior but even the sociality

and tool-making behavior of bees or beavers. The snowman, then, was a surviving proto-human, resembling *Homo sapiens* biologically but unable to engage in labor properly speaking. His most thorough explanation of this theory would eventually come in *On the Beginning of Human History,* published posthumously in 1974, which did not even mention the snowman but left a highly suggestive space between the lines.[38]

Porshnev's proposed "revolution" could have ignited a small-scale science war. Yet what the *Times* called a "Soviet solution to the snowman" was far from being universally accepted among Soviet scientists.[39] The silence with which the science community met their ideas was even more detrimental than public ridicule. Porshnev's article entitled "Is a scientific revolution in primatology possible today?" was published in *Voprosii Filosofii* in 1966 and offered to initiate a debate—which never happened.[40] Yeti enthusiasts, either amateurs or professional scientists, thus faced two opponents: those scientists who actively argued against the hypothesis, and a far larger group that regarded the issue as outside of the realm of science and either shunned every discursive engagement or simply did not pay attention to it. The yeti supporters were so small in number and operated at such an extreme fringe of science that the term "pseudoscience," a term that in the Cold War was frequently used to discredit the other side, was not even worth employing.[41]

Once eager to define the yeti as a subject of official science, Porshnev, in 1968, mustered American, British, Mongolian, and even eighteenth-century Swedish evidence in support of the value of yeti scholarship and pitted the readership of "newspapers and popular magazines," in which yeti sightings had become the "property of all," against professional scientists who refused to take the issue seriously.[42] When Porshnev and Smolin passed away in 1972 and 1975, respectively, Dmitrii Bayanov took over his place as a director "out of a philosophical interest in the nature and destiny of man."[43] The members of the second generation called themselves, since the 1970s, "hominologists" and their activity "hominology." Soviet hominology was matched by its Western counterpart of "cryptozoology," a term proposed by the French-Belgian zoologist Bernard Heuvelmans in his 1955 book *On the Track of Unknown Animals* for the "science of hidden animals."[44]

The initial Soviet yeti frenzy was an example of how a passive but curious lay audience enrolled scientists who, for their own part, relied on an alliance with the public for their own ends.[45] In the 1970s, this relationship changed. What used to be an activity pursued by a handful of scientists operating at the very borders of what was accepted as scientific research became a pursuit in which amateurs increasingly became involved. The activists, however, were always aiming at "re-engaging the scientific community" and raising funds for their fieldwork. Without a source of official funding, the Pamir was out of reach for serious expeditions. The yeti enthusiasts therefore directed

their efforts toward the Caucasus and privately financed their research.[46] Easier and cheaper to reach, the Caucasian mountains still offered remoteness enough for a potential snowman habitat and plenty of folkloric tales to feed imaginations.

At the end of the 1970s, another yeti activist from the Relict Hominoid Research Seminar, Igor Tatsl, brought Soviet Central Asia, especially Tajikistan, back into focus. Eventually, the Soviet "masses" became involved in the search. In summer of 1980, three groups of a total of 120 volunteers from across the Soviet Union, but mainly Ukraine, including students, workers, engineers, and teachers, took part in "snowman fieldwork."[47] While the Soviet scientific community refrained from commenting on the two "sightings," Tatsl reported, publicity in and outside the Soviet Union was guaranteed.[48] Growing interest in the occult and the supernatural also fed these activities.[49] With the extension of the activist community to the Soviet Union came an extension of the alleged snowman habitat. In the 1980s, reports of sightings from Western Russia suddenly appeared.[50] The yeti had finally become an all-Union phenomenon.

Occasionally, Soviet scientists still felt obliged to debunk snowman theories. Vadim Ranov, corresponding member of the Tajik Academy of Science and a well-established archeologist and explorer of the Central Asian mountain regions, stated that "the numerous Russian expeditions to track down the yeti were just a lot of nonsense" and so were the theories of the scientists justifying them. His talk, delivered in Dushanbe, made it to the front page of the *Times*. "Yeti Fails to Live Up to the Ideals of Communism," the heading read on 9 April 1984.[51] "Neither the coming session of the Supreme Soviet, nor the Soviet-Indian space shot, and definitely not the Five-Year-Plan" were able "to compete for Soviet attention with the shocking revelation that the Abominable Snowman does not exist," smirked Richard Owen, the *Times*' bureau chief in Moscow. Ranov's statement, delivered "cold-bloodedly" in Dushanbe, was accompanied with "withering fire" with which he refuted the claims of the enthusiasts on the grounds that it would be against the logic of human evolution to assume "that a group of Neanderthals suddenly forgot how to make stone tools and returned to living in the wild." Owen jokingly remarked that the yeti proponents were hence under fire because their research subject was "ideologically unacceptable," since "mankind, in the Marxist-Leninist view, is progressing onward and upward towards the communist ideal, and the yeti would be an aberration." Yet, this sweeping statement, which derided the Soviet public, science, and Marxism altogether, contained some truth. Probably without knowing, he allured to the fact that Porshnev had indeed tried to construct a Marxist theory of evolution based on his beliefs of relict hominoids. Not far-fetched was Owen's suggestion that the Russian interest in the occult

and supernatural might exist "because the Soviet daily routine is dull and the propaganda is tedious."[52]

Conclusion

The yeti was a cultural phenomenon that was born and nurtured in the Cold War. Its emergence created the transnational networks that despite the bifurcation of the international sphere brought together a small number of enthusiasts across the globe who relied on the support of a receptive public and the institutional network of popular science media. But even as the phenomenon bridged certain Cold War divides, the Soviet fascination with the snowman was also a vivid expression of what set the Soviet Union apart. The mobilization of professional and lay audiences for the search aligned with official postwar goals, which placed the creation of a scientific mass culture at the forefront of their social vision. Moreover, when Porshnev and his colleagues tried to give the snowman a place in mainstream anthropology, their efforts were given their impetus by the ideological significance of human origins for Marxism-Leninism: if conscious social labor was what made human beings human, a society speaking in the name of workers could lay claim to being rooted in distant history as well as utopian visions of the future. No less importantly, Soviet yeti researchers focused their work on peripheral areas of the Union rather than on distant colonial possessions; in doing so, they, like Chinese and Mongolian yeti hunters, gave the project a national and nation-building dimension not all their counterparts in the West shared. The Soviet snowman carried a red passport, even if the species to which it belonged was a fundamentally transnational one.

After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the social anxieties around progress, civilization, and human descent that were reflected in the cultural image of the yeti did not disappear but ensured that the creature was endowed with lasting appeal. The 1990s saw a wave of new interest in mysticism, the paranormal, and a rise of doubtful scientific theories that urged the Russian government to establish yet another commission—not one to find the snowman, but to fight pseudoscience. In October 2011, an "International Yeti Conference," organized by Igor Burtsev, took place in the Siberian city of Tashtagol and received worldwide attention.[53] With the help of new media technology, it became easier than ever to feed the interested public with new stories of a legend that was global in its very roots. A fan website proclaimed that "in an astonishing display of international cooperation, U.S. and Russian scientists have even agreed to share secret Cold War evidence on the legendary creatures."[54] Twenty years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, legends of "Cold War evidence" create a new atmosphere of secrecy and excitement of a

phenomenon that in fact had motivated people during the Cold War to form transnational ties outside of officialdom and state control.

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Notes

1. An authoritative work on naturalism and classification of "unknown" animals is Harriet Rietvo, *The Platypus and the Mermaid, and Other Figments of the Classifying Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). For discussions on the Loch Ness monster, see Henry Bauer, "Society and Scientific Anomalies: Common Knowledge about the Loch Ness Monster," *Journal of Scientific Exploration* 1, no. 1 (January 1987); Peter Dendle, "Cryptozoology in the Medieval and Modern Worlds," *Folklore* 117, no. 2 (August 2006). On the cultural history of the wildmen and other monsters, see also Marjorie M. Halpin and Michael M. Ames, eds., *Manlike Monsters on Trial: Early Records and Modern Evidence* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).
2. Boundary objects, as defined by Star and Griesemer, are concrete or abstract objects that can be adapted to the needs of various social actors while maintaining a recognizable core identity. Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39," *Social Studies of Science* 19, no. 3 (August 1989).
3. In this contribution, we use "yeti" and "snowman" to describe the entire phenomenon. In the English language, "Bigfoot" and "Sasquatch" are usually spelled with a capital letter, "yeti" with a lowercase. Though it cannot be discussed here further, it is of interest for the cultural history of the yeti, whether the creature is imagined as just being one or an entire species.
4. Sigrid Schmalzer, *The People's Peking Man: Popular Science and Human Identity in Twentieth-Century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). Very few scholarly books treat the cultural phenomenon of Bigfoot from an independent angle, among them David J. Daegling, *Bigfoot Exposed: An Anthropologist Examines America's Enduring Legend* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004); Joshua B. Buhs, *Bigfoot: The Life and Times of a Legend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Michael McLeod, *Anatomy of a Beast: Obsession and Myth on the Trail of Bigfoot*

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Daniel Loxton and Donald R. Prothero, *Abominable Science! Origins of the Yeti, Nessie, and Other Famous Cryptids* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

5. On the problematic category of popular science, see Roger Cooter and Stephen Pumfrey, "Separate Spheres and Public Places: Reflections on the History of Science Popularization and Science in Popular Culture," *History of Science* 32, no. 2 (September 1994), and Andreas W. Daum, "Varieties of Popular Science and the Transformations of Public Knowledge: Some Historical Reflections," *Isis* 100, no. 2 (2009).
6. See Ingo Heidbrink's contribution to this volume.
7. See Julia Herzberg, Christian Kehrt, and Franziska Torma's introduction to this volume.
8. For the original English editions, see Charles Robert Stonor, *The Sherpa and the Snowman* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1955); Ralph Izzard, *The Abominable Snowman Adventure* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1955).
9. O. Orestov, "Gimalaiskaia likhoradka," *Pravda,* 10 August 1954.
10. "Was It a 'Snowman'? (*Izvestiia,* January 18)," *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* 10, no. 4 (1958); "Facts and Guesses (*Komsomolskaia Pravda,* January 18)," ibid.
11. "Russians Doubt 'Snowman,'" *New York Times,* 3 February 1958; "Soviet Check Fails to Find 'Snowman,'" *Washington Post and Times Herald,* 3 February 1958.
12. E. Murzaev, preface to *V gorakh Pamira i Tian'-Shania,* by Kirill V. Staniukovich (Moscow: Mysl', 1977).
13. Kirill V. Staniukovich "Golub-Iavan. Svedenia o 'snezhnom chelovekom' na pamire," *Izvestiia Vsesoiuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* 89, no. 4 (1957); Sergei V. Obruchev, "Novye materialy o 'snezhnom cheloveke' (Ieti)," *Izvestiia Vsesoiuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* 89, no. 4 (1957).
14. "Red Expert Says Prehistoric Apemen Still Roam Central Mongolia Desert," *Washington Post and Times Herald,* 12 July 1958; "Apemen May Still Exist," *Times of India,* 11 July 1958; "Russ Believe Abominable Snowmen Real," *Los Angeles Times,* 16 November 1958; "Soviet Scientists Trail 'Snowman': Evidence Is Growing That Legend of Man-Beast Is True, Team Reports," *New York Times, Special,* 16 November 1958; Boris Porshnev, "The Mystery of the Snow Man Will Be Uncovered" [in Chinese], an interview by the correspondent of the newspaper, *Renmin Ribao,* 18 April 1959; E. Kleinenberg and Boris Porshnev, "Studies in the Soviet Union in Connection with the Snow Man" [in Chinese], *Huanmin Jibao,* 11 February 1959.
15. Schmalzer, *The People's Peking Man,* 83; Marie-Jeanne Koffmann, "Reflections on the Possible Survival of a Population of Relict Hominoids in the Caucasus," in *In the Footsteps of the Russian Snowman: A Record of Investigation,* by Dmitri Bayanov (Moscow: Crypto-Logos, 1996); see also Eva Maurer, "Cold War, 'Thaw' and 'Everlasting Friendship': Soviet Mountaineers and Mount Everest, 1953–1960," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 4 (2009).
16. "Abominable?," *Times of India,* 1 February 1959.
17. "Race to Find the Yeti: Three Nations to Send Expeditions," *Times of India,* 1 February 1959.
18. James Morris, "The Next 'Everest' for Man to Conquer," *New York Times,* 13 July 1958.
19. Ibid.

20. Kirill V. Staniukovich, *Po sledam udivitel'noi zagadki. Iz dnevnika ekspeditsii* (Moscow: Molodaia Gvardiia, 1965), 5.
21. "Nothing Definite on the Yeti?," *Times of India,* 16 January 1960; "Race to Find the Yeti,"; "Soviet Scientists Trail 'Snowman.'"
22. Staniukovich, *Po sledam udivitel'noi zagadki,* 13.
23. "Abominable?"
24. "Nothing Definite on the Yeti?"
25. Membership number of the club had risen since the launch of the Sputnik and Explorer.
26. For a brief treatment of American popular science publications, see Katherine Pandora, "Popular Science in National and Transnational Perspective," *Isis* 100, no. 2 (June 2009).
27. James T. Andrews, *Science for the Masses: The Bolshevik State, Public Science, and the Popular Imagination in Soviet Russia, 1917–1934* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 60.
28. Asif A. Siddiqi, *The Red Rocket's Glare: Spaceflight and the Soviet Imagination, 1857–1957* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
29. Ibid., 67.
30. For the growing role of science in this period, see, e.g., Paul Josephson, *New Atlantis Revisited: Akademgorodok, the Siberian City of Science* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).
31. E. M. Murzaev, "Sovremennyi mif o snezhnom cheloveke. Iz knigi 'Puteshestvia bez prikliuchenii i fantastiki,'" *Priroda,* no. 4 (1961).
32. "Kto zhe on? (I)," *Tekhnika—molodezhi,* no. 4 (1959).
33. Ivan Sanderson, "Po sledam 'bol'shenogogo,'" *Znanie—sila,* no. 9 (1968).
34. Zh. I. Kofman, "Otvet professoru Avdreevu. S predisl. red. 'Zagadka kavkaskikh shaitanov,'" *Nauka i religia* no. 4 (1965).
35. Not only scientists but also hunters guarded their exclusive knowledge. An article in the hunting magazine *Okhota* criticized the lack of hunting knowledge of those people who claim to have seen a yeti. N. Vereshchagin, "Mif o shnezhnom cheloveke," *Okhota i okhotnich'e khoziaistvo,* no. 5 (1960).
36. Kofman, "Otvet," 60.
37. See Igor Burtsev, "Hominology in Russia. Personal Observations, Problems and Perspectives," in *Ohio Bigfoot Conference* (Ohio: s.n., 2008), 4.
38. Boris Porshnev, *O nachale chelovecheskoi istorii* (Moscow: Mysl' 1974; reprint, Moscow: FERI-V, 2006), 534–48.
39. "Soviet Solution to the Snowman," *Times* (UK), 15 February 1964.
40. Boris Porshnev, "Vozmozhna li seichas nauchnaia revolutsiia v primatologii?," *Voprosy filosofii* 3 (1966).
41. For the use of the term pseudoscience in the Cold War, see Jens Thiel and Peter Th. Walther, "'Pseudowissenschaft' im Kalten Krieg. Diskreditierungsstrategien in Ost und West," in *Pseudowissenschaft: Konzeptionen von Nichtwissenschaftlichkeit in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte,* ed. Dirk Rupnow (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008), 308–342, and Michael Hagner, "Bye-Bye Science, Welcome Pseudoscience? Reflexionen über einen beschädigten Status," in ibid., 21–50.
42. Boris Porshnev, "Bor'ba za trogloditov," *Prostor,* no. 4 (1968): 98–112.

43. Dmitri Bayanov, *In the Footsteps of the Russian Snowman: A Record of Investigation* (Moscow: Crypto-Logos, 1996), 8.
44. Bernard Heuvelmans, *On the Track of Unknown Animals,* trans. Richard Garnett (London: R. Hart-Davis, 1958).
45. For this process of enrolment, see Cooter and Pumfrey, "Separate Spheres and Public Places."
46. Koffmann, "Reflections on the Possible Survival of a Population of Relict Hominoids," 21.
47. Igor Burtsev, "Expedition 'Hissar-80': Bigfoot Co-Op, June 1981," in *In the Footsteps of the Russian Snowman: A Record of Investigation,* by Dmitri Bayanov (Moscow: Crypto-Logos, 1996).
48. Dmitri Bayanov, "A Field Investigation into the Relict Hominoid Situation in Tajikistan," *Cryptozoology* 3 (1984).
49. Ronald Westrum, "A Note on Monsters," *Journal of Popular Culture* 8, no. 4 (1975): 868. Koffmann was firstly joined by a group of amateurs in 1967; see Odette Tchernine, *In Pursuit of the Abominable Snowman* (New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1971), 21.
50. Bayanov, *In the Footsteps of the Russian Snowman,* 152.
51. Richard Owen, "Yeti Fails to Live up to the Ideals of Communism," *Times* (UK), 9 April 1984, 1.
52. Ibid.
53. See, for example, Miriam Elder, "Siberia Home to Yeti, Bigfoot Enthusiasts Insist," *Guardian*, 10 October 2011; "Forschertreffen in Sibirien. 'Russische Yetis sind scheu,'" *Spiegel Online*, 10 October 2011.
54. "Group of International Scientists on Yeti Hunt in Siberia," *Cryptoreports,* 18 October 2011.

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